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HANS KUNG A REPLY TO GREGORY BAUM

LATIN AMERICA WHO IS TO BLAME?

JAMES FINN **REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S LEGACY**
RUSSELL W. GIBBONS **HARDHATS AND HYACINTHS**
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR. **SCREEN: UN ART NOUVEAU**
BRIAN WICKER **DICKENS UNDER SCRUTINY**
MAURICE BERUBE **FRENCH-CANADIAN TERRORIST**
CORRESPONDENCE **MORE, MORE, MORE HITCHCOCK**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Print Media's Plight

There are services of government which are absolutely basic, which must be provided irrespective of trouble or cost. The fostering of good order is one of these; health care, public transportation and safety concerns are others.

Efficient, low-cost postal service certainly fits into any such *sine qua non*. It is a primary means of communication between people; for the print media, it is so crucial as to fit into the free-speech equation.

For these reasons and more, it was a mistake to shift the Post Office Department to quasi-official status with an aim toward making postal service self-sustaining. The interests of the nation are served by a communicating and informed citizenry, but the new change will so skyrocket mailing costs (without necessarily improving service) as to impair the democratic process.

Granted, we're parties of interest in this question; still free speech does depend on a diversity of means of communication. A vital avenue is narrowed if mail costs are made prohibitive. Free speech *de jure* will be protected as ever, but *de facto* it will be limited.

The wonderment in all of this is the general indifference of the public. Hardly a sigh.

It's understandable in a way. The public, by and large, feels the new postal situation in the few cents more which it pays for 1st-class postage — which isn't feeling much. It's not very painful to lay out 8¢ instead of 6¢ for a stamp, when pennies on the sidewalk are hardly worth stooping for.

However, it's no such indifferent matter for magazines and for newspapers that move via mail rather than newsboys. Their very existence is threatened.

For the first effect of the new and allegedly improved U.S. postal system is to increase 2nd-class mailing costs 15.4 per cent. That took effect May 15; as of Jan. 1, 1972, the hike will be 30.8 per cent; by the time of the full proposed rate of Jan. 1, 1976, the leap will be 146.1 per cent. Since many newspapers and virtually all magazines circulate via 2nd-class mail, it means that not a few are going to be priced right out of business.

Take *Commonweal*. The May 15 postal increase translates to $6,200 more per year in mailing costs. By the time the full proposed rate comes into effect Jan. 1, 1976, *Commonweal's* mail costs will be $34,000 above those of the year past. One needn't be a seer to imagine where this will leave a journal which historically has had to survive financially by its wits, and which just a year ago had to make a public appeal for funds in order to continue publication.

Thus, the question again is survival — for *Commonweal* and publications like *Commonweal* which depend on the mail for their delivery. Their only recourse is to raise subscription prices, already high, and hope they're not pricing themselves to the point where their publication becomes a luxury rather than an affordable.

Commonweal has not yet increased its subscription price, but others have. The *Catholic News*, newspaper of the New York archdiocese, was forced from $6 to $7 a year by the May 15 mail-cost jump. *Atlantic* is going from $9.50 to $10.50, and the *New Republic* from $12 to $14, as of Jan. 1. The list goes on.

What can be done?

Bring opinion to bear on Washington so that 2nd class mail increases will be rolled back, if not completely, then in such measure as to stand in fair relation to increases in other classes. A 146.1 percent increase is preposterous, particularly when one considers that 3rd class mail, the "junk" category (advertising, promotion, samples, etc.), is going up only 25 per cent.

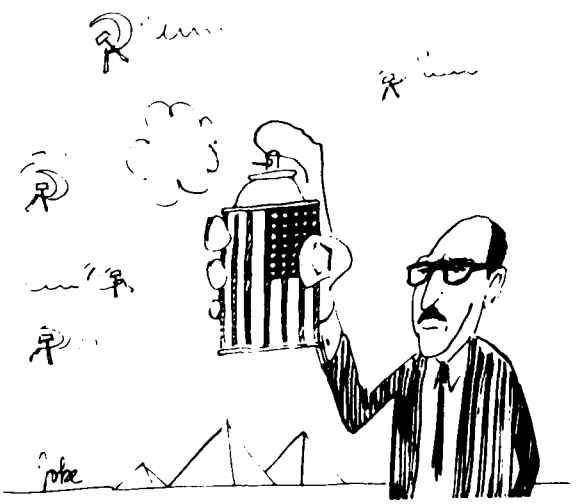
Who in Washington? The White House, of course—although one shouldn't look for miracles of response there given the Nixon Administration's insensitivity, not to say hostility, to the media, print included. Better to pressure Congress, beginning in the House. That's the starting point for undoing the postal disaster Mr. Nixon has bestowed upon the nation.

Individuals should be anxious to join the publishing trade in this effort, as what is the print media's problem today may be theirs tomorrow.

For what's to guarantee that 1st class mail won't one day be a similarly exorbitant proposition as a mail subscription to a magazine?

Not likely, you say.

Well, if you haven't noticed, special-delivery letters are now 60¢, plus regular postage. If the Republicans ever succeed in making the postal service fully self-supporting, a regular letter could cost that much. Be warned.



Joke—De Nieuwe Gazet, Antwerp

'What's Good for GM . . .'

Contretemps continues to be a GM problem.

At the recent stockholders' meeting, board chairman James M. Roche flared to a clergyman's challenge of GM's notion of corporate responsibility: "We are a public corporation owned by free, white . . ."

The audience gasped, as some thought Roche was going to the old racial cliché, "free, white and 21."

Roche caught himself: ". . . and, and, and black and yellow people all over the world."

Shades of Charlie Wilson.

Odds and Ends

The June, 1971, Archie Bunker Humanitarian Awards are presented as follows:

—to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court for ordering an investigation into the conduct of Stoughton District Court Judge George A. Sullivan Jr. for taking part in an antiwar demonstration May 6 in Boston;

—to the Nixon Administration for not inviting New York City's top cop, Patrick V. Murphy, to the White House conference on police killings . . . because he is a Commissioner, not a "police chief";

—to Msgr. Eugene J. Crawford, pastor of Our Holy Redeemer Church, Freeport, L.I., for his admonition to the young Irish priest who preached that patriotism is not to be equated with loyalty to the armed forces of one's country: "We don't need aliens coming in telling us what to do."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Hitchcock Infinitum

To the Editors: I don't know if you published Hitchcock's article [May 14] out of intellectual openness or as a subtle way of showing up the opposition. Either way, you win.

May *Commonweal* prosper! Peace.

MARILYN GALLAGHER

Austin, Texas

To the Editors: Mr. Hitchcock's article brought to mind an interesting passage of Holy Scripture that might well pertain to the state of mind of some progressives who have difficulty in accepting the official teachings of the Catholic church:

> ". . . they could not believe. For . . . He has blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them."
>
> —St. John XII, 39-40

Newer translations do not substantially alter the text.

Supernatural faith, while not voluntaristic, does exact the free assent of the will, which can also be freely denied. When that happens, the unbeliever falls prey, oftentimes, to every sort of false teaching. Such persons, "having itching ears, will accumulate to themselves teachers to suit their own likings and will turn away from listening to the truth and wander into myths."—2 Tim. IV, 3-4.

BROTHER GERMAIN FADDOUL, C.S.C.

Richmond, Va.

To the Editors: James Hitchcock's recent exercise [May 14] . . . could find a rousing "Amen" for much that he says—and for 100 percent of his temper—from among Protestant arch-evangelicals (formerly fundamentalists). Protestant ultra-conservatives have for generations now been blaming all ills in the church—and many in the world—upon innovators in theology, and calling all Christians back to unchanging

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CATCH-UP LEADERSHIP

There's an almost pathetic poignancy to the recent pastoral instruction from the Vatican on public communications. The pastoral, sweeping and detailed, is a meritorious document, despite some lingering ambivalencies about free speech and the public interest. But like so many of the church's adjustments to the times, this one lags so far behind the point of relevance as to have little or no meaning beyond the church's internal references. The principles formulated and solemnly blessed—freedom of information and expression—are such givens of the wider secular society that to dwell before the world in 23,000 words on the subject is only to advertise the gap which separates the church from the society it would shape. The judgment applies, whatever the urgency of the internal conditions the pastoral aims to correct. The latter problems could be addressed more directly and less embarrassingly, it would seem, by directive or memo circulating within the household —thus fully satisfying the Vatican Council II decree on the Instruments of Social Communication directing an explication of norms by which the Council decree may achieve its effect.

In a way, the communications pastoral recalls other issues, like the parochial school and church finances. The church endorses lay school boards long after their desirability is proved by the public school experience (and, be it noted, only after the parochial school has slipped into deep trouble); it encourages procedures of public financial accounting long after most public and semi-public secular institutions have made this a routine of their functioning (and, be it noted again, only after church support shows marked decline). In other words, the church seems constantly to be playing a catching-up game with the world, and even then does so only when internal pressures leave it no alternative. In this context, a case could be made for the proposition that the turning off of ears to much of what the church has to say helped induce an instruction articulating commitment to the media and the free flow of information; credibility must be reestablished.

Be that as it may; the point is that the church must be more than mere assimilator of trends, attitudes and practices, not only if it is to provide leadership for those who still look to it for guidance, but also if it is to be a leaven of society. To let secular society pioneer social modes may be safe

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and sure, but it isn't the prophetic way. For the church's challenge isn't just to exist, to survive as an entity. It's to lead, to provide a witness. It does neither if vision is such as to leave it forever lagging behind the real world.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The ideas and attitudes of the father are rejected by the son and discovered by the grandson. That, at least, is the usual pattern. But as he did in so many things, Reinhold Niebuhr broke this pattern. Called "the father of us all" by George F. Kennan, he influenced a number of men who influenced the policies of the United States: Hans J. Morgenthau, Paul Nitze, Dean Acheson, McGeorge Bundy, and others.

One of the elements which drew these men to Niebuhr was his formulation of a "Christian realism." For Niebuhr brought to his political philosophy insights and judgments that were firmly rooted in his religious neo-orthodoxy. And for years, for decades, he waged battle in the name of Christian realism, on what he saw as the dangers and sins of modern civilization: of philosophical liberalism, of Marxism and of fascism; of ungoverned technology and the industrialized worker; of the moral pretensions of the churches; of an unreflective pacifism.

When, however, Reinhold Niebuhr died on June 1 of this year, many of his most moving and profound statements seemed to have been dismissed or discounted. The grandsons who should have been discovering him were pushing on to higher levels unhobbled by his restricting views of Christian realism. Realism, it seems, Christian or otherwise, was proving—had already proved—to be a cropper. In recent years, new attitudes seem to be carrying the day. One theologian was moved to say that in his later years even Reinhold Niebuhr was writing as if Reinhold Niebuhr had never existed.

But Niebuhr lived, and his legacy remains formidable. Even *Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic,* reflections written when he was a young man in his twenties, strike contemporary notes: the plight of the city; a black minority and a white majority; modern industry; the ethics of large investment, particularly by the church; the impotence of a comfortable religion; laissez-faire capitalism.

From those early years on he insistently recalled the pretensions of human pride and the dangers of its institutional manifestations. It was necessary, he warned individuals and communities, to be aware of "the divine judgment which challenges every historical order insofar as it incorporates injustice." But never did he allow himself to develop into an oracle or an institution. He reminded his listeners that his own judgments were partial, incomplete, self-interested, biased. In his self-defense, however, he did write: "The modern world is so full of bunkum that it is difficult to attempt honesty in it without an undue emphasis upon the critical faculty."

The death of Reinhold Niebuhr is a great loss to the religious community, to the political community, to the larger social community. His writings, however, remain to be rediscovered by a generation badly in need of a sense of Christian realism, of an applied critical faculty. His present eclipse, we can be sure, is only temporary.

JAMES FINN

(*James Finn, formerly an associate editor of* Commonweal, *is the editor of* Worldview.)

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Hardhats, Hyacinths And Returnable Bottles

The last session of the Maryland State Senate experienced a floor debate on an issue which a few years ago might have been dismissed as ludicrous but which today produced a near-confrontation between the soldiers of the fledgling ecology movement and the hardhats of much of organized labor. Glaring at each other in the packed galleries were well-dressed matrons and longhairs carrying "ban-the-can" signs, and a well-organized contingent of tough steelworkers who earn a living making the same cans.

The state's legislators, correctly sensing the fact that the realities of a seven percent unemployment rate in Maryland surfaced above the indignation of the legions from Housewives for Solid Waste Disposal, scrapped a bill that would have effectively displaced from the market no-return beverage cans in favor of returnable bottles. The rationale may have been sheer demagogic to the ecologists, but for the hardhats there was no question as to debating "priorities."

"Hell, those broads with the $200 suits on their backs can raise any issue they want for a crusade, but when they start messing with my job they better watch out," declared a production-line worker from the National Can plant in Cambridge, Md. His sentiments reflect what some eco-watchers have termed a "labor backlash" to the movement, and which has produced in some instances a seemingly strange marriage of labor and industry in opposition to the good earth people.

The clash with some from the ranks of the environmentalists and the union halls has not been universal, and in fact a paper alliance already exists between organized labor and the ecology people. The anger of the Maryland can plant worker may be better articulated by Joe McCray, a onetime union lawyer for Longshoremen's chief Harry Bridges. Writing in an environmental magazine, McCray asked "why suddenly are all the intellectuals, the professionals and the technocrats asking for crash programs to stop pollution? It is obvious: the

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noxious excretions of production, the chaotic disregard of human needs in our system, are touching and affecting the world of the new ruling class."

"The professor's hyacinths are dying," he suggested, and the housewives have organized. McCray's old boss is more blunt. "The ecology movement is obviously anti-worker," Bridges said in an interview recently, "first of all because it is a product of the ruling class, and recognizes no obligation to the worker." What may be dismissed as simplistic demagoguery, however, has strong appeal in labor and even community groups who have seen more than industry rhetoric in the clean-up-or-close-down alternatives which have been presented to workers in the past couple of years.

Now that the implementation dates are coming up for the clean-air, clean-water legislation which was the product of the Johnson Administration's good earth enactments, industry has brandished the Damocles sword of plant shutdown and unemployment. Nervous city fathers in small one-industry towns in a dozen states have even come to view the Big Brother from the Pollution Control Administration as did their fathers the tax men from the Treasury. "HEW's Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service people have as much trust and cooperation from local officials as they have had in school desegregation enforcement," said a West Virginia official at a recent meeting of small city mayors.

If there is anything which may be concluded from the backlash, it points toward an industry strategy which believes that the lords of privilege feast on factionalism. The head of the West Virginia State Water Pollution Control Board, Norman Cole, says that "an industry's first response to environmental orders is often to create a job scare. It seeks to bluff its union and its congressmen into calling off the dogs." If the various corporate doomsdayers expended the same energy toward cleaning up as they do stalling, say ecology cops, then the problem might begin to be resolved.

An example of just how this is being accomplished in some parts of the country is the brand-new basic steel producing complex of U.S. Steel which has been built on a 15,000-acre site at the opening of Galveston Bay on the Texas Gulf coast. Termed as a potential "Gary, Ind., of the South," the external appearance of the plant suggests more of an electronics factory than a mill equipped for rolling huge steel slabs into dimensioned plate. Now at one-third of its production potential, the facility has only two smokestacks, and these emit little visible smoke. The bass are still biting in the bayou and the locals are happy.

The workers at Baytown, Texas, are the exception, however. Steelworkers in a score of other communities do not have it so good: most of them live within the zone of the heaviest pollution surrounding their plants, pollution which they help create. "Until I was 14 and moved out of Gary, I thought that everyone else had graphite on their front porch," says a Steel Union staff representative. It was only recently that the industrial unions put the heat on Congress to enact an Occupational Health and Safety Act to make an assault against the workplace pollution which threatens the health of millions of blue collar workers, and this is but a logical beginning of cleaning up the communities through abating and eliminating industrial poisoning.

Representatives of unions facing the job-loss threat report mixed results. The tiny community of Saltville, Va., is losing its economic base when the Olin Corporation shuts down its soda ash plant because it claims it cannot meet the state's new water pollution standards. It will put 650 men and women on the street. Yet in Marietta, Ohio, the same number of workers backed their union, the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, in joining the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency to call the bluff of Union Carbide Corporation, which said it would have to close down if air pollution cleanup orders were pushed. Union Carbide backed down, the cleanup was initiated and no one lost his job.

Steward Udall, former Secretary of the Interior under Kennedy and Johnson when ecology legislation began to fill the Congressional hopper, has offered this observation of the shutdown-threat by industry: "Marginal plants that can stay in business only if they pollute enjoy a hidden subsidy—the public-sacrifice of its health and environmental values." When the owners of these plants finally do close them down, Udall contends, they often blame the loss of jobs on environmentalists as a tactic designed to buy time for dirty plants in other communities.

It is not the environmentalists who are really attacking the worker in his workplace, Udall continues, "but those corporate managers who would prolong industry's license to pollute." Yet in some of the more abstract ecology-union conflicts, such as the SST fight in Congress—and the readily apparent division in priorities, as with the solid waste disposal people and those unions in the container and metals industry—the hardhats do not seem inclined to sit down with the hyacinth growers.

A bit of economic determinism is apparent in the judgment in some union circles that the recent ecology movement is an upper and middle class phenomenon seeking protection for the middle class environment and content to let the working class pay for controls—and even suffer unemployment if necessary. A Vietnam analogy may be legitimate: the sons of a middle and affluent class revolted against a war largely fought by the sons of working people; they should have been common foes of the war polluters. And again, it is a working class which is in the vise, this one being closed by the environmentalists and the industrialists.

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

(Russell W. Gibbons is a labor editor in Pittsburgh.)

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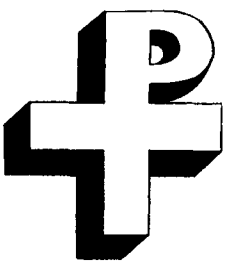
HANS KÜNG REPLIES TO GREGORY BAUM

What is the criterion for a critical theology?



I am sincerely grateful to my good friend Gregory Baum for his detailed review of my book, *Infallible? An Inquiry* [April 9]. Both where he agrees and where he criticizes, Baum proves, as ever, provocative. He appreciates the constructive intentions of the book and recognizes the problem of error in the church's teaching office. On the whole he has rendered an accurate summary of my solution, making it abundantly clear that I accept "authoritative ecclesiastical pronouncements" without hesitation, both "professions of faith or creeds" (abbreviating-recapitulating pronouncements) and "definitions of faith or dogmas" (defensive-defining pronouncements). My "inquiry," however, is concerned only with *infallibly guaranteed* or *guaranteed infallible* pronouncements, which seem to me to lack any foundation either in the New Testament or in the ancient, truly Catholic tradition. The heated discussion aroused by my book thus far serves only to confirm that opinion.

My solution to the problem of truth and error in the church is exactly as Baum has described it: "Even without claiming infallibility for her authoritative pronouncements, the church remains indefectibly in God's truth." It is gratifying that, unlike Karl Rahner, Baum is of the conviction "Küng stands wholly within the Catholic theological tradition despite the apparent novelty of his view." In Baum's opinion, popes and bishops should not attempt to discredit or condemn the positions put forward in my book until they themselves can suggest a better solution to the problem raised by the glaring errors made by the church's teaching office. Such sentiments cannot help but hearten one who relishes neither the idea of shipwreck nor sailing alone.

In entering into discussion with Baum and answering his questions here, I am happy to be able to do so in a manner "beyond polemics," with a friendship I have valued since the days of the Council and one we certainly will continue to share. With respect to the present administration in the Catholic church, though, polemics seem to me to be not only appropriate but absolutely necessary. The questions I raised peacefully and non-polemically concerning the infallibility of the church's teaching office in my books *The Church* (1967) and *Truthfulness* (1968) had been utterly ignored. In 1970 I felt constrained to express those same questions in less peaceful, more polemical tones. And now suddenly they are no longer being ignored. Many bishops and even members of the Roman Curia, I am told, are occupying themselves with my book in great detail. When I see what an unbiblical and undemocratic "fundamental law of the church" is being planned for our immediate future, when Rome and other hierarchic authorities demonstrate such utter blindness to the already catastrophic proportions of the crisis suffered by today's priests, focusing in on the question of obligatory celibacy—then I almost regret I did not express myself more vehemently than I did.

The church suffers no shortage, even these days, of gentle apologists or eulogists ready to hymn songs of praise. I know that Baum has no desire to align himself with this group. But, unlike him, I believe that the "shortcomings of the present administration" have a great deal to do with—indeed they are rooted in—the authoritarianism, traditionalism, absolutism and "infallibilism" of the church. If a man regards himself as infallible, he

FATHER HANS KUNG *is professor of theology at the University of Tübingen in Germany. This article, a reply to Gregory Baum's essay-review in our April 9 issue of Küng's* Infallible? An Inquiry, *was translated by Ronald E. Modras.*

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cannot help but regard his errors as infallible, and therefore above correction. *Humanae Vitae* is a test case for this issue. Even if Baum's temperament may be somewhat milder than my own, is his opinion ultimately any different?

Agreements

There are several points on which I am fully agreed with Baum from the outset, although I may draw different conclusions. For one, I agree with him fully that truth is historical and that not everything that is an error today necessarily was an error in the past. From the first of my books, *Justification,* to my recent book on the incarnation, I have striven, no less than Baum, to find "the truth or even the kernel of truth" encompassed in the doctrines of the past. Of course, even aside from the question of error, there is the question of the re-interpretation of the Gospel; but this is a commonplace. *Infallible?* is just one book, though, and it is concerned with just one topic—infallibility and the problem of *error* in church teachings, a problem that is constantly being ignored in the church, suppressed, or brushed aside as unimportant. One should not complain that he cannot buy furniture in a drug store. I had no intention to write an apologetic tract about the *truth* to be found in the Catholic church. In all honesty, there are enough of those already around.

Secondly, I agree with Baum completely that one should seek out the kernel of truth encompassed in the doctrine of infallibility. For me, this kernel of truth lies in the concept of the church's *indefectibility*. The indefectibility (indestructibility) of the church in the truth of the Gospel can be solidly based upon Scripture. Because of the historical situation, neither Vatican I, with its definition of papal infallibility, nor Vatican II, with its extension of infallibility to the bishops, gave the concept of indefectibility adequate consideration. The infallibility of the *church* (or, better, its indefectibility, indestructibility) does not in any way require the infallibility (inerrancy) of *particular pronouncements*. The miracle of God's spirit is greater: the indefectibility of the church holds true on the basis of God's promise *despite* a fundamental fallibility in the pronouncements of popes, bishops and, to be sure, theologians too.

I really wish, though, that Baum would have expressed himself more clearly in his answer to my "inquiry": Are there such things as guaranteed infallible statements or not? Baum admits that there have been grave errors in the church's solemn pronouncements, but he avoids the clear implications of those errors. Does it not really just conceal the problem to take the infallibility of dogmas, which formerly meant their *irreformability,* and then, with remarkable sleight of hand, re-interpret it as now meaning the *reformability* of dogmas? When they discussed infallibility (=*immunitas ab errore!*), neither of the Vatican Councils intended to teach that dogmas should be constantly reformed. They left no doubt but that dogmas were *without error* and therefore *irreformable*. They are susceptible of "progression" (*profectus*) but on no account of regression, error, or correction: not only are they true, but, on the basis of the promised assistance of the Holy Spirit, dogmas *a priori* cannot be false.

Baum remains unclear at this point. Unless I am mistaken, in typical Catholic fashion he ultimately covers up the problem of *error* again with ambiguous explanations about the *"historicity"* of truth: he thereby covers up as well the necessary consequence of *correcting* error with ambiguous explanations about *re-interpreting* the truth. This is a clever way to avoid paying the penalty. It is almost like stealing a car and then claiming later that the car was not stolen; its ownership was only reformed, which means the car does not have to be given back. When you hear things like that, you can readily understand Charles Davis' *Questions of Conscience*.

Is it not finally about time that we admit the errors in our church, that we ascribe, whenever possible, *truth* to church pronouncements but not anything like guaranteed infallibility? Church pronouncements can and should be regarded as true, but neither the New Testament nor ancient common Christian tradition guarantees them protection from error by the Holy Spirit. They are true when they correspond to the original Christian message. But they are not guaranteed *a priori* infallible. This is the conclusion of my "inquiry." Whoever maintains the contrary assumes the burden of proof. The church's indefectibility (or, if one insists, infallibility) consists in the fact that the Spirit of God preserves the church in the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, despite all the errors of bishops and popes, theologians and pastors, laymen and women; the truth of the Gospel does not succumb to error but rather, winning out against all resistance, it is heard, understood and concretely lived by Christians with faith and love. It would be a veritable witness to the working of the Holy Spirit in the church if we Catholics would take hold of our Christian freedom; if we would honestly admit our mistakes instead of constantly denying them, brushing them aside, or "re-interpreting" them away; if we would correct our mistakes clearly and apply ourselves to the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The encyclical *Humanae Vitae* could well be an occasion for such an admission of error. A pope who would courageously make such an admission would certainly not lose but gain stature.

With these two necessary clarifications, I come to the central point of this response. It concerns the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the church. In precisely this decisive question Baum betrays, strangely enough, a certain ambiguity. It is this ambiguity more than anything else that has provoked me to essay this answer to his article.

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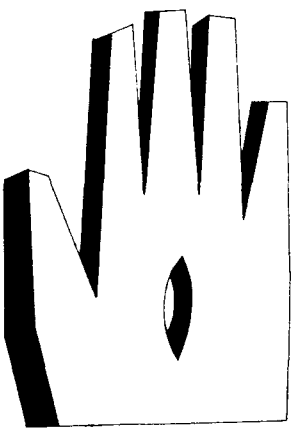
Gregory Baum's first "reservation" regarding my book concerns the *biblical message itself:* "Throughout his book Hans Küng suggests that the truth of salvation is available in understandable form in the New Testament and that the church's fidelity to the Gospel demands that she remain as closely as possible to New Testament teaching." He goes on to say: "this is no surprise . . ." no surprise to whom? To all who are Christians? But no: "to those who are familiar with Küng's extensive writings." I would not want to claim so much credit. But Baum graciously calls this "a defensible Catholic position, conservative in character." Then, consequent to this point, after a few remarks regarding the "re-interpretation" of infallibility, Baum writes: having the "gift" of infallibility at its disposal, the Catholic church "is



not committed, as are the churches that do not claim infallibility, to the biblical language that nobody understands today and to a Jesus who is a stranger in our culture."

Has Jesus become such a "stranger" that he *de facto* no longer speaks the decisive, definitive word for Baum? Has Jesus relinquished that word to someone else? Has biblical language become so unintelligible that Baum would *de facto* prefer some other books to the Bible or equate them on the same level? Could it be that Jesus and the Bible are less strange or unintelligible to the "flower children" or political revolutionaries, than he is to those Christian theologians who optimistically see the Spirit of God clearly at work in the church and the world (but not of course in Vietnam or in the inner-city slums)? These may be pointed questions, but they seem justified by such highly imprecise talk about Jesus and the Scriptures. We need to examine the problem more closely.

Do I understand Baum correctly, the church needs the gift of infallibility because the New Testament and even Jesus himself are "strangers" to our modern age and culture? Then one must also ask the question: where does the church get this "gift" from in the first place? But maybe this is not even a serious question for Baum. The church's infallibility simply symbolizes its reformability. Common sense makes it clear that every human institution and proposition are reformable. The only thing questionable in that case is why Baum bothers to call such infallibility or reformability a "gift." Even the churches of the Reformation would not hesitate to ascribe to themselves such a concept of reformability, although they would hardly think to call it "infallibility."

As ever, such "re-interpretations" do not quite seem to get off the ground. But we can let the question rest and return again to the main issue. The central question Baum poses in his article is formulated in its subtitle as follows: "Should Küng examine the historicity of all truth, including the Scriptures?" The answer: he should and he does.

I am not sure if Baum has read my book *The Church* in its entirety. The first chapter, regarding methodology, goes into considerable detail concerning a principle by which all scriptural texts are to be interpreted: the books of the Bible are not divine supratemporal documents that have fallen from heaven. That would be biblicism. On the contrary, the books of the Bible are human documents, and that means imperfect, fragmentary, divergent and sometimes even contradictory. In short, they are historical. They do not simply *constitute* revelation, but rather give *witness* to revelation. An important concept for me in this regard is one which I developed at some length in my book on the incarnation: not only does human truth have an historical nature, but divine truth as well. In this the God of the Old and New Testaments differs from the God of Greek metaphysics. The God of the Bible is not unhistorical or suprahistorical but truly (although analogously) an historical God. He is a God who not only is present and operative in history, but, as the eternal, living God, He has a history and brings history about. The historical nature (*Geschichtlichkeit*) of God is the primal history (*Urgeschichtlichkeit*) of all the forces of history with regard to man and his world.

It is the historicity of God which permits us to take the historicity of man seriously. The historical nature of the biblical authors is taken quite seriously in my book *Infallible?,* even to the extent of admitting the possibility of error in the Bible and excluding thereby any notion of an inerrant, infallible "paper pope." In case it was overlooked, I will answer the question in Baum's subtitle with a direct quote: "In Scripture, therefore, it is a question of something effected by the Spirit in unrestricted human historicity, which not only makes biblical criticism possible, but demands textual and literary criticism, historical and theological criticism. Serious biblical criticism can only help to prevent the glad tidings from remaining shut up in a book, and to secure at all times its constantly fresh and vital proclamation. This message can and should of course never simply be transmitted in the form linked with a particular time. As the first witnesses—and as such they remain fundamental—did not receive the Gospel dictated in fixed

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formulas or as a rigid doctrine nor slavishly transmit it in this way, but rather took it up at their particular place with their special peculiarities and proclaimed it in their own interpretation and theology, so the modern heralds ought to transmit the Gospel in a new form at their place, at their time, in their way" (*Infallible?*, p. 217).

Translating the Gospel

I can agree, therefore, with Gregory Baum completely: the Gospel, the Christian message, must take on a new form in every age. It must be translated from the language of yesterday into the idiom of today. For this reason one may say, even if it might be misunderstood, that revelation continues to take place in every new proclamation. The mere repetition of biblical verses serves very little use; the contemporary experience of man, the church and society must be included. Together with the Scriptures that experience constitutes the second pole around which Christian theology and proclamation must revolve. This means not only re-formulation but re-interpretation of the Christian message.

As I can agree with Baum, so too I hope he can agree with me, on the other hand, that, with all the necessary translation of the Christian message for our world today, it should still remain even today the Christian message! It will remain the Christian message, though, only insofar as Jesus Christ himself and the original testimony concerning him (the New Testament) remains even today the ultimate criterion for all Christian theology and proclamation. In any act of translation, the original text must remain normative. Although Christian theology and proclamation revolve around two poles, as we have described them, yet the original Christian message must be the decisive pole.

It is not what today's Marxists dream up that can be called Marxist, but only that which can be justified on the basis of Marx himself. It is not what today's Christians concoct that can be called Christian, but only that which can be justified on the basis of Jesus himself. This principle, to which I firmly adhere, makes the accusation of "conservativism" a compliment, for it is the basis of my "liberalism." If today's Christian church wants to remain Christian in its theology and proclamation, it is Jesus and what he stands for which must be decisive. Only superficial naiveté would call this attitude biblicism. To dispute it entails not opposing biblicism but the Bible itself.

What, therefore, should ultimately determine Christian theology, if it is honestly to become involved in the hopes and needs of today? Certainly not the vague unintelligible mythologies or strange *Weltanschauung* of an era now long past. But, on the other hand, not the so-quick-to-change ideologies and utopias of our modern era either. And not any so-called "eternal truths," presumed to have always held true and, in the course of "development" (always optimistically seen as an improvement, of course), ever better known and expressed. As seriously as it may regard the past, present, or future, Christian theology is ultimately determined by an historical person, Jesus of Nazareth. In him the faith of the Christian community has recognized and continues to recognize today the definitive revelation of God. Certainly Christian theology takes seriously the work of God's Spirit in the world outside the church. But the decisive ultimate norm for the church is the written testimony which has been recognized from the early church till today as constituting the original witness about Jesus. Certainly this witness was not "breathed out" by God's Spirit (as one particular theology of inspiration would have it), but it was fixed down in writings and so, fortunately, is unchangeable. Viewed historically, this Jesus constitutes the beginnings of the church. Viewed theologically, he constitutes at the same time the abiding normative origin of the church, insofar as the faith of this community confesses him to be the Christ. In this way that which historically happened "once," enjoys a validity for faith that is "once and for all." Should we not as Christian theologians be of one accord with respect to this as our basis as Christians? Here is one place where we must speak clearly and unambiguously.

Only when theology "remains as close as possible to the New Testament message," does it possess an incorruptible *criterion* for its judgment of today's church and society. Nothing is mechanically predetermined by this criterion, but everything is constantly criticized and determined by it alive and anew. Baum's type of theology likes to pose as being more modern than one that is founded on the Bible. To my way of thinking, though, it is too uncritical and neo-scholastic. Baum makes "the church's present faith experience the focal point, from which to understand the entire Gospel." But how will he decide what in this "present faith experience" of the church is really faith and what is really infidelity or superstition? And how will he prevent this "present faith experience" (after the necessary propaganda, of course), from coming up with some infallible dogma like the immaculate conception of St. Joseph or the canonization of Che Guevara?

Baum's theology has no criterion at its disposal. The danger of such Catholic "developmental" thinking—essentially a questionable product of 19th century(!) Tübingen theology—seems to dawn on him, however, when, towards the end of his article, Baum remarks, again somewhat ambiguously: "Because of this gift of infallibility, the ground for the proclamation of the Gospel is not biblical doctrine as such but the Spirit-centered, scripture-tested experience of the church, out of which she puts into words what the Gospel means today." Now it all depends if this "continual testing with the Scriptures" is meant seriously or not. It all depends

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on whether or not the Scriptures are accepted in earnest as the decisive *norma normans non normata.*

Unfortunately, Baum's last statement gives one reason to harbor some doubts about the seriousness of his scripture-testing: "This, then, is where I differ from Hans Küng's thesis. While he makes dogma relative in regard to the abiding scriptural norm, I think it is theologically sounder and historically more correct to make dogma relative in regard to the church's ongoing, authoritative self-definition." But has it not occurred to Baum that it is precisely this "ongoing, authoritative self-definition" of the church that we have to thank for the four Vatican dogmas (two each regarding Mary and the pope), for documents like the celibacy and birth control encyclicals and the Pope's Credo? Now that Jesus has apparently become so "strange" and the New Testament so "unintelligible," such an "ongoing, authoritative self-definition" of the church is preparing to present us, not with the Gospel, but with a "fundamental law of the church." This final touch to the Roman Catholic church's "ongoing, authoritative self-definition" is not, I am sure, what Gregory Baum has in mind. But then he should not complain when it happens.

He should recognize that neither psychology nor sociology can serve *decisively* to prevent the church and its "experience" from claiming autonomy over against its foundation and Lord. Holding "conservatively" and unshakably to Jesus as the one incorruptible criterion is the only way. The New Testament points to Jesus as authoritative for the church in all eras. Jesus is the foundation for which the Christian accepts no substitute. (cf. I Corinthians 3,11.)

One does not leave the path of neo-scholasticism by replacing the Thomism of one's youth with psychology and sociology in his more mature years. Certainly we theologians would do well to study more psychology and sociology. But we still have to stick to our area of competence as Christian theologians—and that means to Jesus Christ himself. It would only be the apparent progress of a pseudo-modern theology to suppose that one, as a Christian theologian, could ever grow out of the biblical message. No matter how taken up Christian theology may be with the human and social sciences, serious critical exegesis of the Old and New Testaments is much more necessary as its abiding foundation. It is a symptom of neo-scholasticism to evade the painful effort of critical historical exegesis and seek answers elsewhere. Talking vaguely about the Bible is easy. To acquire a genuine knowledge of Scripture takes time and effort, but it is worth it.

An American woman theologian, a charming as well as intelligent personal acquaintance of Baum's and mine, wrote me recently about two kinds of "liberal" theologians: "I would call them attenuated liberals and radical conservatives. An attenuated liberal really has no core of faith. Particularly he has never grappled deeply with Scripture at all. For that reason his liberalism seems to take the form of watering down what is annoying to him in the institutional church, but without any real standard of judgment or point of reference except the institutional church itself. The radical conservative, on the other hand, is really working in a pastoral way out of the roots of faith, with a real core of faith grounded in a deep grappling with the meaning of Christian revelation through its origins, and for that reason is free to be completely truthful and yet cannot be shaken out of the church by any bad odors from any side. We very badly need people of the second kind in the church, and you seem to be one of them . . ."

I hope so. And I would like to think that Gregory Baum is too. I should like to think that my answer might push him in the direction of aligning himself with—how shall I phrase it?—the "radical middle." We need to stand between the extreme on the right of biblicism and traditionalism and the extreme on the left of a fashionable theology that jumps on its horse and runs off in every possible direction. Perhaps my pointed questions can be demonstrated to have been unnecessary. Then it would please me very much to say—so much the better.

CARL BODE

THE FRIDAY FENCE

The water hurries toward me, whipped by the same
Wind throwing sand onto my face. The sky in its
Folded gray lowers over last Sunday's lace.

The beachgrass bends in wavering clumps, in light-
And dark-green arcs. The smell of salt sweeps by
And the sharp New England smell of sharks.

Everything is arrowed at me. Stumbling, cursing, I
Must quail for shelter by the nearest dune but the
Wind slides down like water, drenching me with hail.

White and chilled I crouch like a motley pigeon,
Feathers ruffled in despite. I crouch day after day
—And each day is worse than any Calvinistic night.

So I curse again and then stir enough to think about
A barricade. I scuttle head down to the nearest sign
—The beach is thick with those that man has made—

To pull it by its spine and plant it by the boat . . .
An hour's work, and I lie warm, cosseted like a
Convert, quite out of the Antinomian storm,

Behind: World's End; Bridge Out; Posted Against the
Sun; Dog; Church Closed; God; Keep Off Everyone.

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LATIN AMERICA: WHO IS TO BLAME?

GARY MacEOIN

Last year, during a three-month search for Latin American reality which took me to 13 countries of the hemisphere, I discovered in an obscure student magazine in Montevideo, Uruguay, a poem which expresses a basic element of that reality. Its author, Leonel Rugama, of Nicaragua. Its title:

THE EARTH IS A MOON SATELLITE

Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
Apollo 1 cost plenty.

Apollo 3 cost more than Apollo 2
Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
Apollo 1 cost plenty.

Apollo 4 cost more than Apollo 3
Apollo 3 cost more than Apollo 2
Apollo 2 cost more than Apollo 1
Apollo 1 cost plenty.

Apollo 8 cost a fortune but nobody minded
because the astronauts were Protestants
and from the moon they read the Bible
to the delight and edification of all Christians
and on their return Pope Paul gave them
his blessing.

Apollo 9 cost more than all of them together
and that includes Apollo 1 which cost plenty.

The great-grandparents of the Acahualinca
people were less hungry than the grandparents.

The great-grandparents died of hunger.

The grandparents of the Acahualinca people
were less hungry than the parents.

The grandparents died of hunger.

The parents of the Acahualinca people
were less hungry than the people are today.

The parents died of hunger.

The people who live today in Acahualinca
are less hungry than their children.

The children of the Acahualinca people
are not born because of hunger
and they hunger to be born
so they can die of hunger.

And that is what they do
they die of hunger.

Blessed are the poor
for they shall possess the moon.

Recently I was back in Panama, where I spoke to 30 young people from eight Latin American countries and of varied backgrounds: a lawyer, a Protestant minister, two Catholic priests no longer in the structures, government officials. Their common identification is that all work with the peasants in their respective countries, and they are in Panama for a course in cooperative methods which will equip them to work more effectively for and with the poor. I quoted part of Rugama's poem from memory and asked for reactions. Unanimously they agreed that in every rural and urban area in which they have worked the children are hungrier than their parents.

I stress the point, because in my experience the second most difficult fact about Latin America to get across to people in this country is that things are getting worse, not better, that each year more people are poorer, hungrier, less clothed, less sheltered than the year before, and that all the indices project a continuation of this negative trend for the foreseeable future. Life is barely tolerable for 80 percent of Latin America's 275 million people, and it will be unspeakably worse for the 600 million projected for the year 2000.

How is this possible, people ask me, people who are familiar with the official analyses of the level and impact of foreign aid. What about the billions poured into Europe under the Marshall Plan after World War II? Didn't it quickly restore the war-ravaged economy? And

GARY MAC EOIN's *newly published book is* Revolution Next Door: Latin America in the 1970s *(Holt, Rinehart & Winston).*

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didn't we apply the same successful recipe to the Third World, with Latin America the biggest beneficiary under the Alliance for Progress? These are legitimate questions. The official figures add up to $85 billion in *all* kinds of aid between 1945 and 1961, and some $3 billion in each subsequent year.

Behind the Figures

But let us break down the figures. More than half (currently, 52 percent of the total) is military aid which definitely does not help the development of the peasants in Brazil or Guatemala.

A large part of the military aid creates obligations repayable in dollars by the recipients. (Repayments in recent years have averaged $1 billion annually.) So do most of the non-military goods and services, with interest rates steadily rising so that they now approximate commercial interest levels. Even "food for peace" is seldom given away. Economist Michael Hudson, formerly a balance-of-payments analyst for Chase-Manhattan Bank, shows in the recently published *The Myth of Aid* how Public Law 480 took the surplus food that threatened to engulf us; and at no net economic cost to the United States, put the aid-receiving countries into debt to us to the extent of some $22 billion, "thereby tying them to the pursestrings of the State Department and the U.S. Treasury for nearly 20 years to come."

While some small part of the surplus food and other foreign aid helps the economic development of the recipients, this effect is a secondary and subordinate one. The primary objectives are to promote U.S. exports and —as the March 1970 Korry report to the State Department put it—to enable foreign countries to support a military superstructure capable of saving the U.S. the cost of having to provide police forces to maintain the status quo. And contrary to popular belief, these national objectives have been achieved without any net outflow of dollars. Instead, our non-military foreign aid programs (grants and loans) have made a dollar profit for the U.S. every year since 1963, a profit that grows bigger each year and has now passed the billion dollar mark annually. Indeed, economists have begun to ask if we have not outsmarted ourselves. Loans falling due for repayment in the 1970s after a grace period threaten to repeat the experience of the 1920s, when almost every country of Europe ran out of money and was forced to repudiate its World War I debts.

Pressure on the economies of the poor countries is increased by the impact of the private enterprise contribution to development. U.S. direct investment in Latin America grew from $8 billion to $15 billion during the 1960s and continues to grow at the rate of $1 billion a year. This does not, however, mean the injection of outside money into Latin America. On the contrary, U.S. companies withdraw $2 in dividends, royalties on technology and other payments, for each new dollar they invest. They exercise a double negative impact. On the one hand, they decapitalize Latin America by the withdrawal of profits; on the other, they steadily acquire control of the fixed assets of the region by plowing back a part of their profits into acquisition of local enterprises.

Foreign capital, mainly U.S., controls the exploitation of some 90 percent of the mineral assets of Latin America. Following the 1964 coup d'etat in Brazil, that opened up for foreigners industrial activities from which they were previously excluded, an enormous takeover occurred. Four years later, foreign capital controlled 40 percent of the capital market, 62 percent of foreign trade, 82 percent of maritime transport, 77 percent of overseas airlines; 100 percent of auto production, 100 percent of tire production; more than 80 percent of pharmaceutical production; 50 percent of chemical production, 50 percent of machine production, 48 percent of aluminum and 90 percent of cement.

In such circumstances, a country—like an individual —has only one way to keep afloat: by running ever deeper into debt. Between 1955 and 1969 the long-term public debt of Latin America rose over 4-fold from $4 to $16.4 billion in 1969. Service on this debt comes to $2.2 billion annually. Other forms of public and private debt have risen comparably.

More concretely, the gap between the living level of the average North American and that of the average Latin American grows wider each year. While the inhabitant of a developed country increases his real income—in constant dollars—by $110, his vis-à-vis in the underdeveloped country increases his real income by only $2.20. Statistically, the gap between them grows by $107.80 yearly.

I have left myself open to a riposte. Earlier I said that the children of Acahualinca are hungrier than their parents; now I say that the average person in an underdeveloped country improves his living level by $2.20 a year. It is not much, but it is not insignificant in relation to his present income, which in Guatemala is $300; in Paraguay, $200; in Venezuela, $900.

Both statements are correct. Within the underdeveloped countries there is a gap parallel to that between the rich countries and the poor countries: a gap between the 20 percent of the population within the modern economy and the 80 percent outside that economy. The entire benefit of progress in the poor country is retained within the small upper sector—meaning that it progresses very gratifyingly indeed in its beautiful modern cities—while the benefits of the economy accruing to the lower 80 percent do not even match the annual population increase. The poor have less each year.

The gap between rich and poor nations grows wider each year. Within the poor nations, the gap between

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the small rich sector and the big poor sector similarly widens. In international commerce, the rich and powerful nations progressively bend the terms of trade in their favor. They fix the prices at which they sell manufactures and buy raw materials. In control of their production processes, they adjust rapidly to fluctuations of demand, which the raw-material producer cannot do. The rich nations thus monopolize the benefits of technology. Similarly within the poor nations, the modern sector monopolizes the benefits of technology, keeping for itself the small annual improvement in the gross national product. In consequence, the common man in Latin America is not a little better off each year. He is a little worse off.

Progress has brought roads, bicycles, sewing machines, aluminum cooking utensils, toothpaste, transistor radios, and Coca Cola to the Latin American countryside. Industrial consumer products make life better for those with money to buy them, but their social impact is negative. They achieve no increase in the per-capita output of goods and services in the area they reach. The time they save for their users cannot be employed productively where there is already a labor surplus. Rather, they increase unemployment by displacing local artifacts; in addition, the money that pays for them is transferred from the rural to the urban sector, increasing rural pauperization by a progressive outflow of wealth with no wealth-producing return.

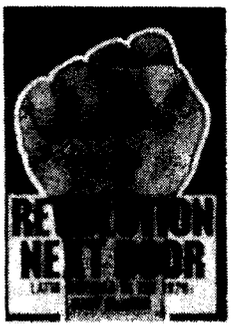
Solution or Problem?

If the economic and social condition of the poor countries grows more distorted each year, it is proper to ask if that is happening in spite of the efforts of the rich countries. Latin Americans no longer think so. Their political scientists and analysts, not only those of the left but those of the center and many of the right, have stopped looking at the rich countries as part of their solution. Instead, they now see them as part of their problem.

Many Latin Americans have gone farther. They have become convinced that they are the victims of a conscious and calculated conspiracy, projecting secret meetings of the White House, the CIA, the Pentagon, the State Dept. and Wall St. to determine roles and share the benefits. That is, of course, a caricature; but it would be naive to deny it all foundation. Many U.S. state papers for the 1940-1950 period are now available to researchers, and they reveal a consistent level of callousness and an unbroken process of underhand accommodation between the U.S. government and private capitalists in disregard for Latin American interests both during and after World War II. Subsequent events fail to uncover any change either of heart or of program. Nor can one forget that the rich have always been more grasping than the poor, more obsessed with the protection of their property and its increase. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, recently noted that very large numbers of average citizens of the developed countries can be and are manipulated by vested interests, including their own, to oppose a change of policies that hurt the poor countries.

Economic theories about development and underdevelopment have been in constant flux since World War II. In the United Nations' first years, the industrialized Western countries decided not only to end the colonial system but to start the world's poor countries toward development. They formulated for them as a goal the dynamic condition of endless upward spiraling which they already enjoyed. Their economists, engineers and social scientists discarded older theories used to explain why some countries were better off than others: theories about the division of labor, the superiority of certain human types, the impact of tropical climates on incentives. Instead they created new models to determine what inputs of capital, technology, labor and time

Yanqui Go Home



"I have been constantly associated with Latin Americans since living for five years in the Caribbean in the 1940's, and am well aware of the endemic resentment of the Colossus of the North. But until recently, most of that was a stylized conventional affair. . . . It reached a significant level only among students and leftist-leaning intellectuals with political ambitions.

"Now, on the contrary, it is a gut matter, spread across the entire spectrum of political and ideological opinion. It is felt by doctors and school-teachers, by suburban housewives, and urban priests. Organized workers are convinced that twenty years of massive effort by the AFL-CIO and the State Department had no purpose other than to emasculate their trade unions. A related resentment affects the ruling class. . . . The sentiment is even spelled out in the official documents of the Latin American hierarchy. . . .

"Ironically, all this has occurred during the years of most intense exposure of Latin America to the viewpoint of the United States culture. . . . As with the pacification programs in Indochina, the more total the penetration, the more negative the result. Political scientists must, in the future, cite this experience as no less significant than that of the Vietnam war when they discuss the limits of power of the great."

—Gary MacEoin in *Revolution Next Door*
(just published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $6.95)

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would be needed by a country at a stated level of backwardness to ensure that it would "take off" and subsequently maintain its onward and upward momentum by its own efforts.

By the late 1950s, however, it was evident that the development or gradualist model was not working; and the UN decided to make the 1960s "a decade of development," during which the developmental model would be applied more methodically and intensively than previously. Last year, at the end of that decade, when the UN had decided to make the 1970s a second decade of development, I asked many Latin Americans what the first one had done for them. The overwhelming consensus was that it had been a disaster. One Chilean political scientist spoke for all when he said "If that is what one decade of development does for us, spare us from another. Foreign aid has been used, not to develop us, but to achieve the political purposes of the donors, to smother us in debt, to buy up our most dynamic productive assets."

Today in Latin America the best thinkers have rejected the developmental theory which represents the poor nations as on their way to the level of development of the rich nations. Instead, they see the poor nations as *under* development; poor because the rich made them poor, and poor because the rich keep them poor by regulating world trade and finances to give themselves an inordinate share of the benefits.

How do the rich keep the poor poor? Probably the most basic of the complicated processes is the control which allows only those forms and levels of development which benefit the rich. "Economic growth abroad is encouraged," says Michael Hudson, "just as is military preparedness, to the extent that it dovetails into U.S. commercial and military objectives—but only to that extent." The rich enforce, by carrot-and-stick techniques, a set of rules which ensure that they make all decisions, keeping their poor clients in a state of perpetual adolescence and in what Denis Goulet, the only American today specializing in the ethics of development, has called "the special kind of trauma which results from dependence." Students of the phenomenon of black awakening in the U.S. understand what he means.

The developmental model assumes a partnership which will gradually narrow the gap and spread equitably the fruits of progress. The dependence model, which spokesmen for the poor say is what the rich are in fact using, implies a conflict, a projection into international relations of the class war concept which Marx developed to explain exploitation of the poor by the rich within capitalist societies. Underdevelopment under this light emerges not as an accident of history but as the result of a deliberate process. The rich used their power to get the benefits of a common effort, and they still use their power to monopolize those benefits. The poor are poor because they are kept poor.

Satellite industrialization in Latin America since World War II has modified the process but also intensified it. Latin America has suffered continuing decapitalization ever since the Discovery, but never at so rapid a rate as in the past quarter century, that is, since it was moved from the economic orbit of Western Europe to that of the U.S. It is fascinating to go back today and read the first blueprints for modernization of Latin America drawn up by Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Dealers just before World War II. The original slogan coined to sell the program to the U.S. public was that the Latin Americans should be given "a share" in their own wealth. But that was too much for U.S. business. Bernard Baruch, its spokesman, protested, "The ownership, control and direction of the natural resources (i.e., of Latin America) are important to America (i.e., to U.S.) because they bring not only these raw materials, but the profits therefrom, increasing the American (i.e., the U.S.) standards of living."

Adolf Berle and Roosevelt's other Latin American experts yielded, writing a U.S. veto into the Inter-American Bank then proposed (though not created): the Bank would support diversification of production "limited to products not competitive with existing lines of production in already established Western Hemisphere markets," i.e., not competitive with U.S. products. All subsequent development has been within similar guidelines, with foreign aid as both carrot and stick. By the time aid recipients see the trap, it is too late. When a man or a country is deep in debt, only the creditor has leverage.

Protests

Latin American protests against this satellite status have become significantly more strident in recent years. One of the more striking expressions has been that of the Roman Catholic bishops who met in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, in an assembly opened by Pope Paul VI. The Medellin Statements express the consensus of the bishops on the religious, social, economic and political condition of the hemisphere. They are a 40,000-word call to basic reform, offering the concept of a liberating God to replace the god of private property. They denounce the oppressing power used by institutions to impose violence, the neocolonialism of the national oligarchies, and the external neocolonialism of "the international monopolies and the international imperialism of money," on which the system rests. They list specifically the growing distortion of international commerce caused by decline of raw material prices while those of manufactures rise; the flight of capital, brain drain, tax evasions, export of profits and dividends by foreign companies "without contributing adequate reinvestments to the progressive development of our countries," the growing burden of debt.

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"Many parts of Latin America are experiencing a situation of injustice which can be called institutionalized violence. The structures of industry and agriculture, the national and international economy, the cultural and political life all violate fundamental rights. Entire peoples lack the bare necessities and live in a condition of such dependency that they can exercise neither initiative nor responsibility. Similarly, they lack all possibility of cultural improvement and of participation in social and political life. Such situations (the bishops say) call for global, daring, urgent, and basically renewing change.

"It should surprise nobody that the temptation to violence should manifest itself in Latin America. It is wrong to abuse the patience of people who have endured for years a situation that would be intolerable if they were more aware of their rights as human beings."

Other Clergy

If the bishops speak in such terms, it is not surprising to get even stronger language from clergymen at lower levels. Here are two quotes I recorded last year, one from a Catholic priest in Colombia, the other from a Protestant minister in Chile. The priest is Vicente Mejía, a member of the progressive Golconda Group; and I underscore the Marxist tone of what he says, because I see this widespread affection for Marxist thought among all reform-minded people in Latin America today as an indication and a warning of what happens when we make Marxism respectable by branding all progress as Marxist. We must start, Mejía told me, from the fact that the North American capitalists and their local allies will always seek to keep for themselves the main benefits of development, "so that the real Colombians of the middle and lower classes experience a continuing fall in their living levels. But the people (he said) are growing conscious and coming to see that the only solution is to make themselves independent of the U.S. We are moving toward a Colombian socialism, a socialism adjusted to scientific socialism. Our model is not China or Russia or Cuba, but Colombia, with the means of production in the hands of the people, with a true agrarian reform and a true urban revolution."

The Protestant minister is Joel Gajardo, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and a specialist in political science as chief theoretician and ideologist for ISAL (Iglesia y Sociedad en America Latina: Church and Society in Latin America), a hemisphere-wide organization of progressive Protestants. "The rich countries, both of the so-called free world and of the Soviet bloc, continue to claim that they are trying to help us catch up with them. But their actions belie their words. We now know that our underdevelopment is an integral factor in their progress. They moved ahead in the first instance at our expense, and the continuance of their growth requires the maintenance of our backwardness. Naturally, they prefer that we should cooperate, but they have demonstrated—as in Brazil—that they will also use whatever force is necessary."

Economists and political scientists are—in growing numbers—reaching the same conclusion. Gunnar Myrdal, head of Sweden's Institute of International Economic Studies, famous first for his study of race in the U.S. (*An American Dilemma*) then for *Asian Drama: an Enquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, has now scored the developed nations of East and West as the makers and continuers of the underdevelopment of the poor countries. In *The Challenge of World Poverty*, he describes how the reforms proposed in the Alliance for Progress, reforms to which we are bound by treaty obligations, were "rapidly emasculated by interaction between the holders of power in Latin America, including the American corporations working there, and the U.S. government and Congress." He is particularly disturbed by the prostitution of U.S. academic life through the financing of research on Latin American problems by the Pentagon, the CIA and the State Dept. He warns that the substitutes for true reform now promoted and financed by the U.S.: community development, cooperatives, population control and miracle seeds will not achieve their objectives and will instead increase the distortions as long as the first essential for human development—land reform—is bypassed.

Helio Jaguaribe, a leading Brazilian economist, has given a name to the economic and social relationship between the poor countries of Latin America and the rich countries of the West headed by the U.S. It is, he says, "an objectively imperialist system." The typical U.S. citizen regards it as normal, he explains, only because he doesn't recognize its true nature. But, he warns, this average American is rapidly becoming so involved a part of the objectively imperialist system that he will be no more able to reverse its dynamism or disassociate himself from it, if it continues much longer, than he has been able to disassociate himself from the Vietnam War or cease to cooperate actively in the waging of that war.

Like many of Brazil's intellectuals, Jaguaribe is in exile. He teaches at MIT. The reason for his exile—in broader terms, what is happening to his country—illustrates the logic of development in Latin America and points the direction in which the hemisphere is moving.

The future is already present in Brazil, Latin America's biggest and one of its most industrialized countries. Political scientist Merle Kling, historian David Green and other U.S. students of Latin America have pointed out that Latin America's chronic political instability results from the unresolvable tension between political independence and economic colonialism. Whenever the political instability induced by the economic colonialism becomes intolerable, a military takeover results. That happened in Brazil in 1964, with U.S. approval shown—among other things—by the cessation of AID to the previous govern-

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ment and a massive injection of AID to the military dictatorship. In repayment, the military reopened the country to foreign investment. By 1969, foreigners dominated the private sector. They controlled 72 percent of capital goods production in this sector, 75 percent of durable consumer goods, 52 percent of nondurable consumer goods.

Wage controls, meanwhile, cut by 25 percent the real income of Brazilian workers, concentrating the benefits of the new industries developed by the foreign capitalists in the small upper sector of Brazilians and the international companies. But the starvation wages had been the reason why political instability had brought the military to power in 1964, and the lowering of these starvation wages put the military on the treadmill of repression.

Several attempts to move back to elected government were quickly reversed just as soon as the extent, intensity and depth of dissatisfaction surfaced with the relaxation of controls. Today, Brazil is a total dictatorship: a censored press, no political parties, no independent trade unions, no student organizations, student leaders in jail, army officers subject to military jurisdiction as state governors and managing directors of banks and other sensitive enterprises. All intermediate organizations between the federal government and the citizen have been effectively destroyed, providing a textbook example of proletarianization of an entire nation.

The fact of torture as a widespread technique of repression has been established by various international organizations. Equally well established is the fact that the regime survives only through U.S. economic, financial and military support, including—apparently—U.S. training in torture techniques and organization of the structures of repression. Our total involvement is far greater than it was in Indochina ten years ago, and the prospects for disengagement are far more obscure.

Where do we go from here? I can perhaps start a dialogue with a few suggestions. It is obvious, to me at least, that drastic social revolution must precede any improvement in Latin America, but that such social revolution can hardly occur until there is first a cultural revolution in the U.S. and in other developed countries, so that we will want to cooperate in the creation of a new world order and be willing to accept the sacrifices. If I am correct, the problem is not down there or over there. It is not even next door. It is right here at home.

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, *Commonweal* will again appear on alternate weeks during the summer months. Forthcoming issues will be dated July 9, July 23, August 6, August 20, September 3 and September 17. From then on we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

UN ART NOUVEAU

THE SCREEN

The title of Eric Rohmer's third film, *La Collectionneuse*, might well have been given to the film by its narrator rather than Rohmer himself. The narrator is a young ne'er-do-well named Adrien (Patrick Bauchau) who is trying to win the favor of two "collectors." The first is a rich American, Sam (played by Seymour Epstein). Adrien has acquired a rare Chinese vase for him and hopes to interest him in financing a gallery. But the collector who matches the gender of the film's title is Haydée (Haydée Politoff). She is a promiscuous ingenue who's sharing the St. Tropez villa at which Adrien and his artist friend Daniel (Daniel Pommereulle) are on vacation. Adrien refers to her as "la collectioneuse" because of the love affairs she collects, and he develops this analogy in his conversations with Daniel in order to show his contempt for her way of life.

But at the same time Adrien is also trying to collect Haydée, who, to his surprise, rejects him. She ruins his other plans too. She breaks up his friendship with Daniel and alienates Sam. In the process she even manages to break the Chinese vase. This last finally changes Adrien's conception of her, if only slightly. In the end he finds her "destructive"; his narration begins to make her sound more like an iconoclast than a collector.

Yet Adrien's behavior toward Haydée belies his rather elaborate descriptions of her, for he treats her more as an aesthetic object than a moral (or immoral) being. When she admires a "worthless" Japanese vase he got as a bonus with the Chinese one, he impulsively gives it to her. And when Sam admires Haydée, Adrien offers her as a similarly worthless bonus in his resale of the Chinese vase. Haydée's life *is* like a work of art too, though not such traditionalist art as the Chinese vase. She's more like Daniel's latest creation, a bit of art nouveau made from a tin can "bristling" with razor blades. Daniel exhibits this odious pop sculpture in a prologue to the film; and when an admirer cuts himself on it, Daniel says the injury shouldn't be taken personally—that it's just the nature of the sculpture, rather than its purpose, to be harmful. This might serve as an apology for Haydée as well. Even when she breaks the Chinese vase, her "destructiveness" seems accidental, not intentional.

La Collectionneuse is just one installment in Rohmer's "Six Moral Tales," which he has been writing and directing since 1963. But this collective title is somewhat misleading. The striking feature of the three films distributed here so far—*Ma Nuit Chez Maud* and *Claire's Knee* are the other two—is that Rohmer himself does no moralizing in them. As he explains, "I have no intention of preaching morals, but rather of reflecting on

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morals. I pass no judgment upon my characters. I consider them to be free." As a writer he therefore grants his characters—and especially his narrators—a life of their own in which the director does not interfere. His approach to filmmaking is a pluralistic one. (There's a certain irony here, of course, for Rohmer has participated in the New Wave's fight to gain directors "total creative control" over their films: now he would give away part of that hard-earned control to his own characters.) The result is that Rohmer's films have a teasing ambivalence. The writer is for once as talented, and as influential on the set, as the director.

Rohmer's narrator is never a conventional movie hero —never a Gary Cooper with much to do but little to say, and nothing to say about himself. On the contrary, all Rohmer's characters are literate, which is to say, literary. They're as complex and intelligent as the characters one finds in the most durable novels. They don't spend their lives rising to noble occasions: indeed, Adrien, like the narrator in *Claire's Knee,* is defeated by an ignoble occasion. But Rohmer's narrators are articulate and introspective. It is with these gifts that they manage to have their way, and their say, in his films. Their one Promethean gesture is to steal from the *auteur* the literary elements of the film, including, in Adrien's case, the dominant metaphor. In order to reach the audience, the direction must discipline itself to available symbols, like the vase, and to the mute action, such as Haydée's breaking of the vase—the visual or purely cinematic elements.

Given the freedom to speak their own minds, as well as minds to speak, Rohmer's characters immediately turn into amateur casuists. This is what makes them warm-blooded and recognizable as people we might know in real life. But if Rohmer's films contain any moral of his own, it is perhaps his disapprobation for this vice. (He knows his Pascal too well to take such binding moral arbitration seriously.) At the same time, however, he has a venial indulgence for far more mortal sins. The perversity and indifference that dominate the emotions in *La Collectionneuse* are at least present in his other films too. In *Ma Nuit Chez Maud* a woman wants to seduce a man who is, she knows, trying to cling to his Catholicism. In *Claire's Knee* a man reduces a girl to tears just so he can stroke her knee while she's distracted with her weeping. Such behavior would be shameful, if Rohmer didn't make it so amusing.

In *La Collectionneuse* Rohmer's insistence on taking his characters as he finds them—on accepting them on their own terms—is harder to take. But this insistence is what gives all his films their integrity in both the aesthetic and ethical sense of the word. He has said, "I can't see why anyone would want to show something he doesn't admire or that doesn't fit in harmoniously with its surroundings." In *La Collectionneuse* he has seen Adrien and Haydée fit harmoniously with the decadent art and decadent people in their surroundings. That's why he can admire them enough to make the film without meddling in their lives.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

Dickens gets the old scrutiny

Dickens the Novelist

F. R. LEAVIS & Q. D. LEAVIS

Pantheon, $10

BRIAN WICKER

In *The Great Tradition* (first published 1948) F. R. Leavis confidently asserted that Dicken's genius was "that of a great entertainer, and he had for the most part no profounder responsibility as a creative artist than this description suggests." The present book is the Leavis's retraction of that critical misjudgment. Indeed, it is more than a retraction: it marks a shift in the center of gravity of Leavis's "great tradition" itself. The earlier book began by flatly insisting "the great English novelists are Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James and Joseph Conrad." Later, of course, D. H. Lawrence was added to the canon. In the light of the new Dickens studies, the comparative stature of both Jane Austen and Henry James seems to have been reduced. We are fairly often told, when there is discussion of some especially significant moment in Dickens, that this or that is beyond the reach of Jane Austen or of Henry James. Though still great geniuses, the latter are now to be seen as geniuses of a distinctly more limited order than Dickens was.

Changes of evaluation on this scale present us with major problems. On the one hand, the very fact that they are made at all is proof of the critic's ability to grow, and to remain alive to new experience. One of the endearing things about F. R. Leavis is that he writes with the kind of enthusiasm that comes from discovering, for the first time, a new kind of delight or a new perspective on the world which he wants above all to communicate and share, whatever the cost may be in terms of critical caution, balance or consistency. (Less endearing, of course, is the official refusal to *admit* the original error at all.) On the other hand, such revaluations bring in their train profound questions and even doubts

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about the whole critical enterprise. When, we may well ask, are the dismissals of Defoe ("He made no pretension to practising the novelist's art and matters little as an influence"), Sterne ("irresponsible and nasty trifling") and Scott ("primarily a kind of inspired folk-lorist, qualified to have done in fiction something analagous to the ballad—opera") to be retracted, with further consequent shifts in the center of the Great Tradition?

The present book contains essays on *Dombey*, *Hard Times* and *Little Dorrit* by F.R.L. (the second is a reprint of the familiar *Great Tradition* piece); and on *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House* and *Great Expectations*, as well as on *The Dickens Illustrations by* Q.D.L. There is also a Preface, in which the usual dismissals of other critics' work, on the grounds of obtuseness and incompetence (*de rigueur* for any Leavisite) are in much evidence.

One of the most interesting features of this book—the first which is overtly a collaborative effort of the two authors —is the contrast of style between the writers, which often expresses differences of opinion and even of intelligence. F.R.L.'s chief characteristic as a critic in his *passion*. What matters most about his work is not so much his actual judgments, still less the reasoning (or lack of it) which leads up to them, but the quality of his belief in their truth and in their over-riding importance, which is evident in the theatrical style. The mode is assertive (any divergence from this being explicable only on grounds of impercipience or malice) because to F.R.L. (as to Eliot) the "correction of taste"—possible, it is implied, only by the correction of social and moral attitudes to the world—is the central business of criticism.

It is, undoubtedly, refreshing to read a critic who actually believes what he says, passionately. However, one side effect of this critical mode is that the "argument" itself tends to consist, at times, of little more than pointing to a list of passages which we are invited to consider as "significant" in some particular way, under pain, if we do not, of being critical morons. The result is that, mixed up with the passion, we find a great many very weak remarks, in which the punch-line is reduced to near meaninglessness. To be told "the scene of the death, with its economy, its precision, and its delicate sureness of touch and tone, is *something that Dickens could have done*" or that "the self-important professionality of the two doctors is *beautifully got*" (*my italics*) is to be told very little because the final verbs are so feeble. Sometimes Leavis tries to counter this feebleness by the device of saying that such and such a moment is "Shakespearian" or "Lawrentian" or "Blakeian": in other words, instead of supplying closely-argued analyses, he tells us to approve of the passage merely because (it is supposed) we can't help approving something that is like the work of another "approved" author.

Q.D.L.'s style is altogether more relaxed, largely because she has much more to say. The ratio of intelligent observations to bullying assertions is far higher, and she seems much more sure of herself. This is partly because she uses her own scholarship more freely, often with devastating effect. She seems to share Eliot's view that valid "interpretation" consists merely of "putting the reader in possession of facts which he would otherwise have missed," and does so efficiently without fuss. She also applies ordinary common-sense to cases where F.R.L. is liable to be carried away by his own enthusiasm. A notable example is that of the Toodles family, in *Dombey*, the treatment of which is uncritically admired by F.R.L. The extreme fertility of the Toodles seems to him, as it seemed to Dickens when he wasn't concentrating very hard on realities, to be simply a sign of generous "life": Q.D.L. points out, however, that later on, in *Our Mutual Friend*, the treatment of Bella Wilfer shows that Dickens knew (having had ten children himself) that "a baby is no joke." Here QDL's observation on the later work reveals the degree of over-simplification, not to say sentimentality in FRL's judgment of the earlier case.

This book is obviously a "must" for Dickens readers. But is also, and rightly, a book about the values and threats to values to be found in the world today. While they totally endorse Dickens's attacks on mere respectability, on snobbery, money-grabbing, legalism, etc., etc., the Leavises insist that, for Dickens, concepts like that of "gentleman," of "delicacy of feeling," etc. are not be dismissed. In the modern world —the world of Kingsley Amis, the world of "social science, 'welfare,' equality and statistics" —these values are threatened. They can only be kept up by recognizing "that there are real distinctions to be made, based not on money or birth but on cultivation and intelligence and talent."

The point is taken: but is it really quite as apt today as it seems? To the Leavises the threat seems to come, primarily, from "politicians, statesmen, social scientists and leader-writers in general." We can agree that these are indeed, dangerous men. But is it not also the case that the individualism which the Leavises offer as a counter to modern social organization is itself a danger?

In Europe and America, at any rate, it is not only the technologists and social scientists who endanger values: it is also the individualists who espouse a new kind of elitism, the elitism of the young, the reckless, the "liberated." Against that kind of threat, the Leavisite espousal of Lawrentian "life" has little power, because it is half responsible for it. There is a danger in attacking the academics today, just as there was a danger (as the Leavises rightly point out) in Dickens' attacks on the "respectable," a century ago.

In the latter case, the danger was that of destroying respect for the "gentlemanliness" and "delicacy of feeling." In the former, it is the danger of writing off the best values of the middle-class ethos (of which academic scholarship is one).

Lawrence did not wholly escape this danger, and neither do the Leavises. They could well be accused of unwittingly contributing to the very thing they most detest: the erosion of intelligence,

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of cultivation and talent by the new mindless post-Lawrentian individualism. The artists in this century who have done most to prevent such values from being forgotten are, oddly enough, just those anti-Lawrentians whom the Leavises have least time for: people like T. S. Eliot, James Joyce, Samuel Beckett and (I would add) Charlie Chaplin.

White Niggers of America

PIERRE VALLIERES

Monthly Review Press, $7.50

MAURICE R. BERUBE

To be a French-Canadian in the United States has been to be a man without a mother country. One neglected one's roots in Quebec to look towards Paris. Our most famed French-Canadian novelist, Jack Kerouac, for example, sought his ancestral lineage, not in the squalid little towns on the banks of St. Lawrence, but in the more picturesque coastal villages of Normandy. French-Canada was but a way station.

That delusion can no longer be sustained. The French-Canadian separatists have rediscovered French-Canada and imbued every native and descendant with a profound sense of people and place. Whatever else befalls French separatism, it has, like the black power movement, redirected the consciousness of French-Canadians. And it has been the basis of a cultural renaissance in Quebec, producing intellectual and artistic excitement.

Pierre Vallières has played no small part in this renaissance. He is a radical of extremely high caliber, a man who, unlike many of our American radicals, had admirably succeeded in the liberal establishment. Vallières served his apprenticeship as a journalist for *La Presse*, Quebec's largest French daily, and as the precocious 25-year-old editor of the respected liberal journal, *Cité Libre*, chosen for the post by the former editors, Pierre Trudeau and Charles Pelletier, now Prime Minister and Secretary of Canada.

French-Canadian separatism emerged simultaneously with the black civil rights movement in America in the early 1960's. Vallières' tract-memoir, for instance, was written in the winter of 1966-67 in New York City's Tombs, precisely when the American black rights movement metamorphosed into black power, towards a racial collective solution to the problems of blacks. Both had much in common. The French separatist movement has grown substantially, with a wide range of organized groups attracting solid support, (Rene Levesque's centrist *Parti québécois* drew a quarter of the vote in the last national elections). The most militant separatist organization has been the *Front de Liberation de Quebec*—the FLQ.

What propelled the FLQ into international prominence was the kidnapping of James Cross, a British official, and the kidnapping and murder of the Canadian labor official, Pierre Laporte. The FLQ considers French Canada in the throes of revolution, and its "terrorism," or "revolutionary acts," depending on one's point of view, resembles that of truly revolutionary groups, like the Algerian FLN, Cuba's Castroites and Ireland's IRA. There are differences, of course. Those revolutions occurred in established countries, and Quebec is but a province.

Pierre Vallières is a chief figure in the FLQ, now imprisoned once again, after the Laporte murder, in the repressive jailings of the Trudeau government. He has a singular message, repeated in *White Niggers of America*: the poverty of French-Canadians is imposed, basically, by economic American imperialism controlling the finance capital of Quebec. Along with the workers who make up the FLQ, Vallières is a "new" Marxist, drawing inspiration from both Marx and Guevara. And he is quite right that political separation without a social revolution would still be bondage, a point many French Canadian separatists fail to stress.

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REVIEWERS

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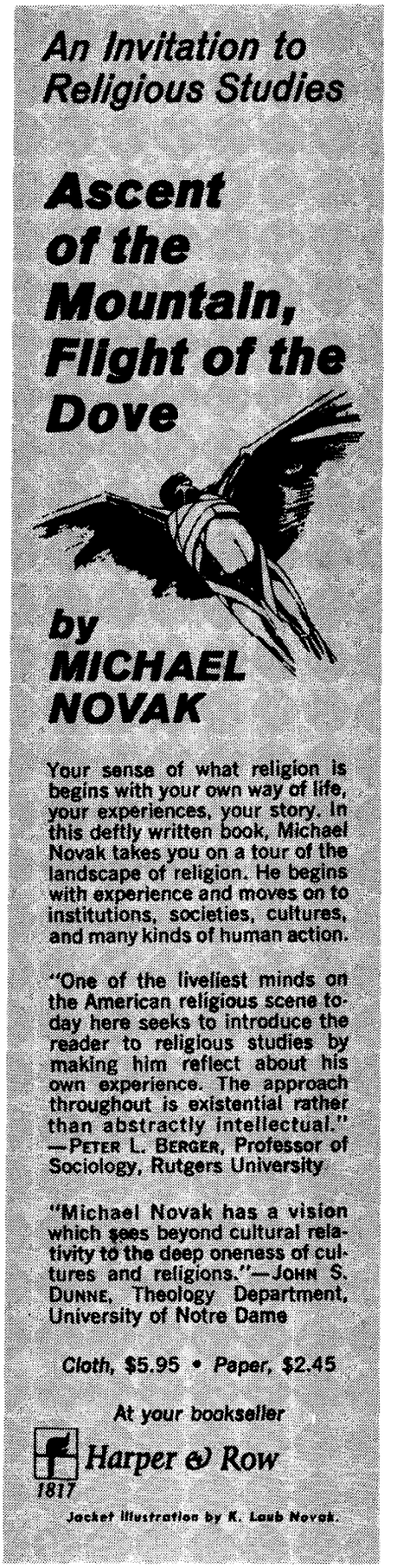
An Invitation to Religious Studies
Ascent of the Mountain, Flight of the Dove
by MICHAEL NOVAK
Your sense of what religion is begins with your own way of life, your experiences, your story. In this deftly written book, Michael Novak takes you on a tour of the landscape of religion. He begins with experience and moves on to institutions, societies, cultures, and many kinds of human action.
"One of the liveliest minds on the American religious scene today here seeks to introduce the reader to religious studies by making him reflect about his own experience. The approach throughout is existential rather than abstractly intellectual." —PETER L. BERGER, Professor of Sociology, Rutgers University
"Michael Novak has a vision which sees beyond cultural relativity to the deep oneness of cultures and religions."—JOHN S. DUNNE, Theology Department, University of Notre Dame
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For the poverty in French-Canada is overwhelming, engulfing nearly half of the five million French-Canadians in Quebec. There are few alternatives. The most tried, of course, has been emigration to the United States. But that has not been an easy road. My grandfather and grandmother, for example, worked in the woolen mills at the ages of ten and eleven. Had not Prohibition offered my grandfather a golden opportunity in bootlegging, the likelihood is that his children and those after might still be the property of some textile mill. It has taken at least three or four generations in America for most French-Canadians to escape grueling poverty. No wonder that the most popular French-Canadian folk hero has been the fictional miser, Séraphin Poudrière.

For many of those who did not leave, as Vallières notes, existence has been pretty much hand-to-mouth, despite 300 years on this continent. According to Vallières they are white niggers, economic slaves. Much of the analogy is for shock effect; in truth, no group has been as maltreated as American blacks. There have been no lynchings in Quebec, no destruction of family life through slavery, no suppression of usable pasts, no obliteration of a national tongue. Indeed, French-Canadian culture has remained intact.

White Niggers in America is an exceptional book. It is the tortured history of an extraordinary individual. Pierre Vallières, born and nurtured in the Montreal slums, imbued with the love of thought, manipulated his way into prominence. Too poor to attend college, he feigned a religious vocation for the education. Despising his poverty, his religion, his home and himself, he became a spiritual and physical traveler. He tried his hand as a novelist and as a short-lived but ironically converted student for the priesthood. He left his detested Montreal for New York City and Paris. In Paris he nearly committed suicide. Returning to Montreal, he found his métier as a journalist-editor and his spiritual home as an angry FLQ revolutionary. This book, written hastily in jail, is uneven, and much of the polemic is tedious. Nevertheless, the quality of the memoir is so sincerely powerful that *White Niggers in America* ranks favorably with the protest literature of the 1960's.

Is separation the solution? Most likely. The French-Canadians, like black Americans across the border, are a people God has forgotten. Their leap into the present must be made collectively and quickly. And as Pierre Vallières grasps, such a leap implies some version of French-Canadian socialism. In these unpredictable times that prospect is no longer unimaginable.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 323)

truths as formulated a century (or less) before.

Mr. Hitchcock, would that you could rejoice in the great company of like-minded brothers you have within Protestant folds, as I and many other Protestants rejoice in the many Catholics who are trying to live in this changing world in creative obedience to the One we see alike to be an onleading Lord. By the way, most of these "radical" Catholics (here supply a generous sample of names of regular contributors to *Commonweal, Concilium,* etc.) are surely as much the instructors as the pupils of Messrs. L. Gilkey, J. C. Bennett, R. M. Brown, H. Cox, *et al.* But, if this is so the relationship is that among colleagues in convergence, and very little if at all that of guru to devotee, let alone seducer to victim. Still another sign of "convergence at work"—even in an ecumenical off-season—is the fact that many Protestants have said and continue to say "it is easier to love Catholics than fellow Protestants," just as some Catholics—as Hitchcock rightly heard them—have expressed and express the converse.

One split runs through all churches today, as it does through all cultures in various ways: that between those with a dynamic view of reality, relatively accepting of change, and those with a static view of reality, for whom development or shift in essentials is essentially treason. . . .

Those in whatever group who hold to a static view of reality are forever announcing that all players must—please!—go back to "Go," and then Stop! Apparently, "Go" for Hitchcock is a "minimalist" reading of the documents of Vatican II. In his appraisal of the council, and all else, I take him to be a "progressive" advocate of the static, that is one who freely admits minor adjustments might be made, and even that certain unfoldings might be proper if they bring nothing disconcerting.

There is a most important discussion that must go on among those who wish to be open to creative development in essentials, a discussion concerning continuities, i.e. concerning obedience to the Word Spoken and openness to the Word being spoken (John 16: 12-13). When and where is a new option a carrier for the Good News, and when and where is it an unfaithful, and finally destructive novelty? James Hitchcock has a contribution to make to this discussion, but it could be so much more if he could accept in principle that the future might properly hold some genuine surprises, that is to say, the Spirit is free as well as faithful.

Interestingly enough he acknowledges this can be so, even though he will not accept the implications of what he perceives. He pleads for a return to Rome, and then remembers with a sigh and shudder that the Rome to which he would return is no more ("everything seems vaguely sick and vaguely hollow"). Since the same is surely true of old Geneva, dear Wittenberg, etc. what can any of us do now other than to press on toward a City before us? And why not together?

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To the Editors: Resistance to change takes all kinds of forms and the nearer we get to the possibility of realizing the changes the Council confirmed and initiated, the more articulate become the resisters. It was a strange experience for me to sit here and read Mr. Hitch-

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cock's article on the failure of the *aggiornamento* and to learn that Herder and Herder will soon publish his book on *The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism* at the very time when I find laymen, sisters, and priests somewhat purged of the authoritarian rebellion and conformity that characterized our response to an over-institutionalized administration in the first stages of Council-directed renewal. Now there are beginnings in which caring Christians . . . are somewhat less psychically drained by their personal experiences of authoritarian repression. . . .

If the radical, as Mr. Hitchcock claims, "has discovered that everything he thought he wanted has failed to bring him peace," it is because what the radical thought he wanted cannot yet be realized within the church. Members are not accustomed to deal with conflict, except by repression and projection. There was no previous training to work through conflicts because dialogue is only possible between parties who experience each other as peers. When the renewal invited dialogue, members tried it with devastating effects. Public character attack and secret decision-making, previously the preserve of members with status and power, were used reciprocally; and life was experienced as polarization between two armed camps.

During this period much injury has been done, and few remain unscathed. As a result, going back to the situation in which public character attack and secret decision-making were done unilaterally may seem attractive to some. For others, however, there is now sufficient experience . . . to move beyond these dependency patterns. . . . For human development humane behavior is essential, and we have discovered that our present structures do not provide the environment for such behavior because of the maldistribution of power. We still have few psychic or social skills to deal with communal conflict, but we are no longer following the pattern of waiting for hierarchically provided solutions to human problems. . . . The church can provide the community in which the problems can be faced together and human solutions worked out, tried, evaluated, discarded, or developed accordingly as human needs are served. More than that, the refocus of the church's concern on the real issues of our times has stimulated the young to dream again of a living faith that realizes itself in service which is brother-and-sister oriented rather than parent-to-child directed. . . .

Members are learning to speak to each other and to celebrate together, but there is much to be done yet before much that was previously defined as the sacred is purified of its superego qualities and defensive repression. There is much to be done before manipulation so unconscious and sacralized is replaced by true service and caring. There is much to be done before the word "mystery" is relocated to focus once more on the transcendent instead of on the upper echelons of our authority systems, and much to be done before our compassion really turns outward to those who suffer even more than we do from the inhumanity of man that is proscribed in *Populorum Progressio*. . . .

It takes more than ten years to do this and the church does not call an end to its beginnings in a single decade, at least not a church with the dimension of world vision that the Council introduced in its *aggiornamento*. Mr. Hitchcock's low frustration tolerance is understandable; it is a function of the renewal. These criticisms of the immaturity of the radicals recalls that directed against the first apostles who also were pretty inadequate men, focused on their own needs until the Lord patiently and constantly reminded them that the church exists to bring the good news to the people. There are many people today who have not yet heard about *aggiornamento*. From the Hitchcock article I get the feeling that here is just another attempt not only to prevent them from hearing it, but also from trying out what they hear.

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To the Editors: While James Hitch-

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—Citation, Catholic Press Association, 5/71

THE TROUBLE with Mr. Agnew's pyrotechnics was that they seemed to give one the choice only between his own half-truths and the mass media's somewhat less than impressive record. . . . Two recent reports on the news media have substituted some light for the heat generated by Mr. Agnew. Sociologist Herbert J. Gans, at work on a study of national news media, presented some conclusions in a recent *New York Times Magazine*. Gans finds TV news coverage influenced not so much by political persuasions but by media needs (drama, pictorial quality, etc.); the results are nonetheless distorting, and Gans advocates "more descriptive and analytic reporting about, for, and by" the poor, radical minorities, radicals and conservatives, as well as commentary from "all points on the political spectrum, age groups, income levels, etc." . . .

A report on "Mass Media and Violence," issued by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, adds further recommendations. The chief problem has not been the publicity given violence, the report advises, but the sluggish response of the news media to social change, and the inability of emergent groups to make their voices heard in the media without the aid of confrontation or the excitement of violence. . . .

It asks journalists to investigate the causes, background and significance of group violence rather than only emphasize the violent acts. It calls for interpretative writing "on page one" of newspapers and a "mixed hard news/news magazine format" to supply greater depth on TV. It calls for closer media-ghetto contact, for grievance machinery, local press councils, public forums on media performance like *Chicago Journalism Review,* and intramural criticism within the media. The Commission report provides what Mr. Agnew did not: a thoughtful agenda for media reform. *(excerpts only)*

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cock's article may suffer from exaggerations or miscomprehensions, as the editors say, it does stand forth as an honest effort to appraise the phenomena that have characterized Catholicism during the past ten years. Hitchcock has conceded that important reforms have been implemented in the church; that new visions of the Catholic meaning have been opened up; that the reformed church is a much freer place than it was previously. This much having been granted, however, he questions the value of it all. Presumably the end result was not worth the price. Seen from his vantage point, it would appear that the road of concessions has been a one-way street with Catholicism having made most, if not all, the major ones. Furthermore, he feels that the predictions of conservatives that the church was emptying her treasures into a bottomless pit have been verified; and that, finally, the inability, or at least the unwillingness, of the radical reformers to grasp the critical point at issue—the crisis of faith—and their attempt to blame their personal emptiness on the church rather than own up to their own personal and religious ineptitude, stand forth as particularly lamentable.

I would leave his first two observations for others to debate. I am sure that much could and will be said on both sides of those claims. Let me address myself rather to the third item: the issue of emptiness. Perhaps we should term it the issue of fulfillment. Or better still, the issue of wholeness. Seen from my personal priestly and professional point of view, this is the crucial matter—and it is loaded.

In one of his epistles St. Paul sums up the Christian enterprise in the words, "This is the Will of God: your sanctification." After two thousand years this phrase still remains as succinct and powerful an expression of our endeavor as any ever penned. . . . Further reflection, however, reveals that the question is actually quite complex. This becomes apparent when we realize that the word "sanctus" originates in the same base as the word "sanus." This latter word is translatable as sane, sound, healthy. . . . The quest for one's sanctification is

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not unrelated to the quest for one's sanification; the search for saintliness is not unrelated to the search for saneness and soundness; the efforts at holiness are not unrelated to the efforts at wholeness. . . . So true is this that there is serious reason to hold suspect any attempt at personal holiness that issues forth in the disintegration of the human personality.

Having pointed the above out, however, I make no claim for originality. Others have stated this before me. In one form or other the truth that holiness and wholeness are ultimately one has been the theme of many philosophers and theologians. Aquinas' own treatment of the Gift of Integrity in the *Summa Theologica* is but one example. . . . Longstanding as this truth is, however, its implications are forever eluding us, for it is this same dictum that underlies much of what is happening in the contemporary scene.

Hitchcock quotes Callahan as saying, "We were woefully remiss in understanding of social and psychological factors." Here Callahan is simply confessing that he and many other radical reformers were slow to realize how thoroughly the issue of sanification permeated the quest for sanctification, and it was not until they were deeply immersed in the struggle for sanctification (which in the early post-Vatican years was identified with liturgical and structural reform) that they came to see the full import that sanification might have. Step by step the reformers were led slowly but inevitably to the understanding that any effort at relating more meaningfully with God that bypasses one's own relationship with himself is at best superficial and at worst doomed. . . .

Thus Hitchcock's cavil ("They are trying to find themselves, and they wish to use the church for this purpose.") is completely beside the point. Certainly they did, and as dutiful, faithful sons they should have. Taught from childhood that the path to perfection, fulfillment and completion lay with the church, they took this belief seriously. Only after many years of successful and unsuccessful experiences have they come to see that the entire quest for sanctification goes much deeper than they and the church leaders themselves ever suspected. One cannot hope to move towards oneness with God unless he is moving towards oneness, wholeness, integration with himself and his neighbor.

From these reflections it is evident that Hitchcock's claim that the reformers were actually covering up their lack of faith is totally unwarranted. If anything, they could conceivably be accused of having had too much faith, a naive faith, if you will, that led them to attempt a shortcut to God by circumventing the truly basic issues and focusing instead on matters of lesser importance, hoping all the while that the grace of God would right all the wrongs that had been swept under the philosophical, theological and ecclesiastical rugs. Even if this be true of them, however, the reformers here shared their naiveté with the conservatives, most of whom still adhere to this simplistic belief. Fortunately the radicals have been forthright enough to face up to the inadequacy of their efforts to date; and no longer desiring to promote change for the sake of change, they are now preparing to confront the radical questions concerning man and the human nature that God would have sanctified.

At the end of his article Hitchcock remarks that the radical reformer is demoralized by the discovery of empty spaces within himself. . . . My own priestly, clinical and pedagogical experience gives the lie to his contention. In fact the entire thrust towards self-realization, self-actualization and self-fulfillment in and through participation with others presupposes that there are empty spaces, areas of unfulfillment in a man's life that cry out for completion with others and with God. . . .

Hitchcock might well be correct in saying that many of the progressives will be discouraged. I would simply add that this need not be the case. . . . Taking advantage of all the good the *aggiornamento* has already effected, they should dedicate themselves to a radical understanding of human nature in all its personal, interpersonal, cultural and religious contexts. With the faithful pursuing the quest for sanctification from this perspective, we might well see transformations take place that defy any present conception. Ten years are simply not enough, nor are twenty. Yet every year counts, and brings with it its promise . . . for the *aggiornamento* has scarcely begun.

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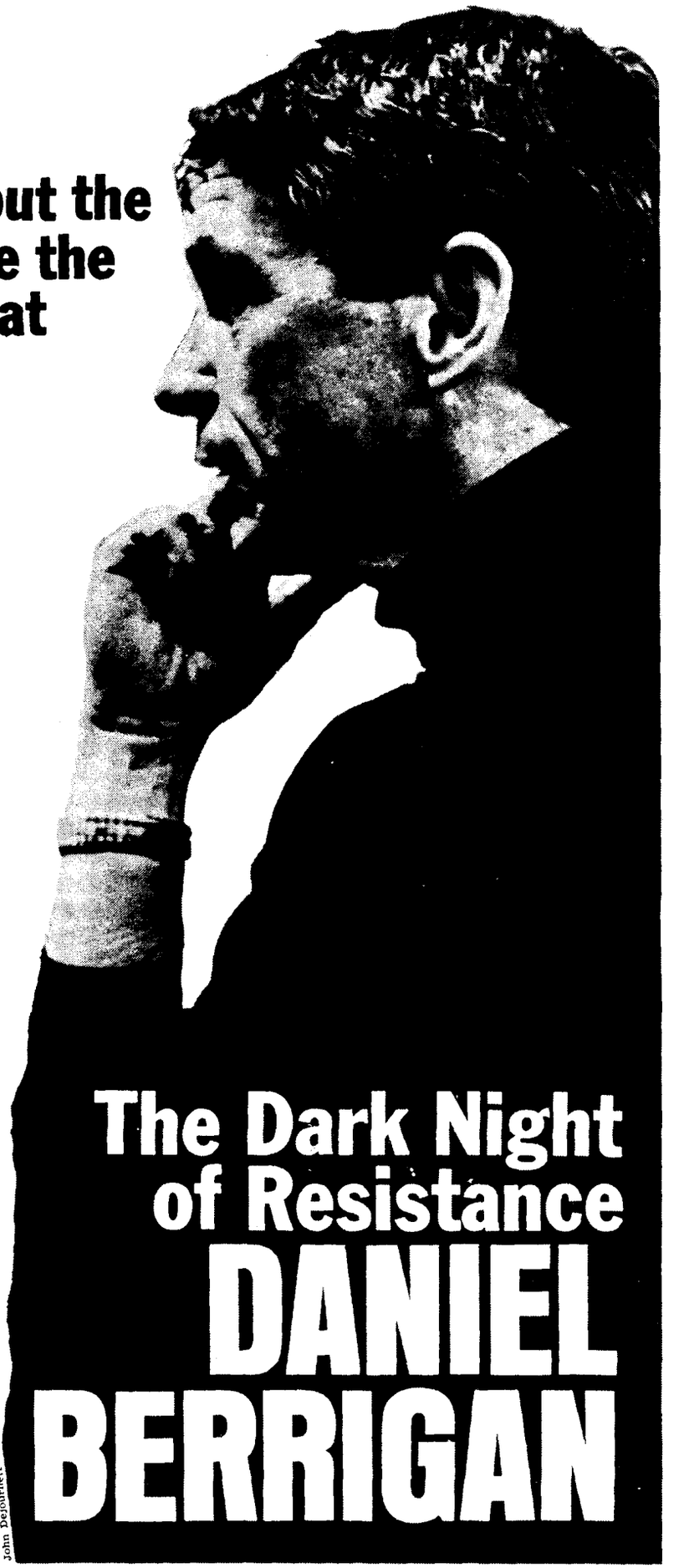

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